Richard William Church

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Richard William Church.

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BY THE

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"FIVE GREAT OXFORD LEADERS" AND "THE BISHOPRIC OF TRURO"

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Note

This Life is reprinted from the Third Edition of "Five Great Oxford Leaders," by the late Canon A. B. Donaldson. It has no claim to originality, for the fascinating account given of Dean Church in the "Life and Letters," by his daughter, renders any other work of the kind almost impossible except as an abridgment or summary.

Contents

V

VI

VII

I

Early life—Italy—School life—Wadham College—Newman's influence—Newman's Sermons at St. Mary's—The Schools—Oriel Fellowship—Ordination—Tract XC.

"HIGH gifts are rare; brilliancy and strength and talent are rare; men of genius and great masters in thought and style are few, indeed, and far between. But rarer, perhaps, than all other rare and precious things is a character which wins its way to wide and significant recognition amid all the noise and throng of men, by the sheer force of its spiritual beauty. It is this peculiar rarity which belongs to the life of Richard William Church." [1]

This is the testimony of the writer of a leading article in the *Guardian*, that organ of the Anglican Church which Dean Church did so much to found, develop, and

[1] The *Guardian*, December 17, 1890.

maintain in a high state of literary efficiency. It states in a concise form the true estimate of a very beautiful life and character of one, who was not only intimately connected with the great crisis of the Tractarian Movement, but carried on its best traditions, and commended them to men's minds by the literary beauty of his writings, no less than by the attractiveness of his personality.

His life may be said to have been cast into a singularly symmetrical form, and can be divided into four separate and almost equal periods: (1) His early life until he went up to Oxford; (2) his University career; (3) his life at Whatley; (4) his rule at St. Paul's Cathedral.

EARLY LIFE.

He was born at Lisbon, April 25, 1815, of a family of Quaker origin, which had in later times rejoined the Church of England. His uncle, Richard,

entered the army, and became a distinguished officer, and afterwards commander of the Greek armies in the War of Independence. Mr. John Dearman Church, father of Richard William Church, was a merchant of Lisbon, and in 1816, retiring from business on account of the serious state of his health, went to reside in Florence. For thirteen years, Richard Church lived abroad, sometimes at school at Leghorn, at other times in the south of Italy, visiting his uncle, who held at that time a military command in the Kingdom of Naples; but mainly with his parents at Florence. This early experience of foreign travel had a very important effect upon Church's character and tastes. It expanded his sympathies and emancipated him from the narrow insularity and prejudice which were more general among Englishmen of that time than is now the case. So early

a contact with the beautiful scenery, language, and people of Italy must largely have moulded his mind, and implanted in him that capacity for understanding the genius of the Italian people, which is so observable in works like the "Gifts of Civilization," or "Influences of Christianity on National Character," and, above all, his "Essay on Dante." He had plenty of boyish occupations, though of a different character from those enjoyed at English schools, and took much pleasure in wandering about among the shipping in the harbours and ports of Italian cities.

SCHOOL LIFE.

The death of his father in 1828 brought his mother and her three children to England. Richard Church was sent to school at Exeter, but after a short time was transferred to Redlands, near Bristol, where he remained till 1833. Those were days of political ferment and

excitement, and young Church saw many of the tokens of the great movements of the time, for while he was at school the great riots of October, 1831, occurred, when the Bishop's Palace and other public buildings were burnt by the mob. Though the standard of teaching he received was not very high, he appears to have worked hard, and laid the foundations of good scholarship and of studious habits. He was known as a reserved, industrious boy, and a great lover of books, and often spent his spare time in turning over old volumes at the second-hand bookshops in Bristol. The religious teaching at the school was of the so-called Evangelical type, and strong anti-Roman addresses formed a part of the instruction of the elder boys.

With this kind of mental and religious preparation, Mr. Church went up to Wadham College, Oxford, in the never-to-be-forgotten

year 1833. His College was then, as it has continued to be regarded ever since, an Evangelical centre. But through the marriage of his mother to a connection of George Moberly, afterwards Headmaster of Winchester, and Bishop of Salisbury, and at that time Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, he passed under different influences. He wrote of those days, "I shrank from the very pronounced Evangelical men; my friends were mostly men of no special colour . . . the only out-college man, of any mark, except Moberly, that I knew much of while I was at Wadham, was Charles Marriott."[1] From that time until his death he enjoyed the friendship of one "who, if any, deserved the title of Saint."

WADHAM COLLEGE.

In 1835 he was brought into contact with Newman and Keble, to both of whom he

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 13.

had looked up for some time with "great interest and veneration." As to the latter, he had been warned in his early undergraduate days that "The Christian Year" was not quite sound about vital religion; but he was rapidly becoming emancipated from such narrow views. His first impressions of Newman's preaching led him to see how entirely his sermons were out of the beaten track. They gained so much power over him that he afterwards became a regular attendant at St. Mary's. A sermon entitled "Ventures of Faith,"[1] is recorded by him to have inspired him to make a special effort of self-denial, and was felt by him to have been the turning-point of his life. Of Newman's preaching he has left his recollection.[2] "As a Tutor of Oriel, Mr. Newman had made what

NEWMAN'S INFLUENCE.

[1] "Life and Letters," pp. 90, 91.
[2] "Oxford Movement," pp. 21, 129.

efforts he could, sometimes disturbing to the authorities, to raise the standard of conduct and feeling among his pupils. When he became a parish priest, his preaching took a singularly practical and plain-spoken character. The first sermon of the series, a typical sermon, 'Holiness necessary for future blessedness'—a sermon which has made many readers grave when they laid it down—was written in 1826, before he came to St. Mary's, and as he began he continued. No sermons, except those which his great opposite, Dr. Arnold, was preaching at Rugby, had appealed to conscience with such directness and force. A passionate and sustained earnestness after a high moral rule, seriously realized in conduct, is the dominant character of these sermons. They showed the strong reaction against slackness of fibre in the religious life; against

SERMONS AT ST. MARY'S.

the poverty, restlessness, worldliness, the blunted and impaired sense of truth, which reigned with little check in the recognized fashions of professing Christianity; the want of depth, both of thought and feeling; the strange blindness to the real sternness, nay the austerity, of the New Testament."[1]

"None but those who remember them can adequately estimate the effect of Mr. Newman's four-o'clock sermons at St. Mary's. The world knows them, has heard a great deal about them, has passed its various judgments on them. But it hardly realizes that without those sermons the Movement might never have gone on, certainly would never have been what it was. Even people who heard them continually, and felt them to be different from any other sermons, hardly estimated their real power, or knew at the time the

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 21 22.

influence which the sermons were having upon them. Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from any faults of taste, strong in their flexibility and perfect command both of language and thought, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character and conscience and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempted and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God and His counsels, in His love, in His judgments, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence. They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, and not of the sermon or the preacher."[1]

He read hard for the schools, receiving considerable help from Moberly; but he relates with much modesty that his First

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 129, 130.

Class was a great surprise to himself. There were only three other names in the same class with him. In the second appeared among others those of F. W. Faber, J. R. Cornish (afterwards Mowbray), and Gathorne Hardy. THE SCHOOLS.

For a year and a half after taking his degree he remained at Oxford taking pupils, and making a translation of St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures, under the editorship of Newman, as part of the "Library of the Fathers."

In April, 1838, he entered for the Oriel Fellowship. In a letter written in 1885 to Dr. Liddon, he gives a very interesting, not to say amusing, description of the examination and all that preceded and followed it. Oriel men who were at college under Provost Hawkins will recognize the graphic touch of the following words: "They never ORIEL FELLOWSHIP.

advertised vacancies in those days; the Provost held his head high, and said if persons wanted to know if there were any fellowships to be filled up they could come and inquire." [1] The Latin letter written to the Provost, the visits to the room of torture—"the Tower"—and the final introduction to the Provost in his stall at chapel, when the great man, "as if much surprised, asked you, *Domine quid petis,* to which you answered, *Peto beneficium hujusce Collegii in annum,*" make up a vivid description of the whole event. Mark Pattison, afterwards Rector of Lincoln, was an unsuccessful candidate for the Oriel Fellowship. It is a singular testimony to the attractiveness of Church's character and disposition that one so little given to say kind things of others should on this occasion have felt and spoken so warmly of Church. "I

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 18.

presume that Church was Newman's candidate, though so accomplished a scholar need not have required any party push. I have always looked upon Church as the type of the Oriel Fellow; Richard Michell said at the time of the election: 'There is such a moral beauty about Church, that they could not help taking him.'"[1]

Among the Fellows and Tutors of Oriel at that time were Fraser, Clough, Matthew Arnold, Grant, and Burgon. The Common Room had not yet lost its fame for wit and learning, and Church found himself in an intellectual atmosphere much to his taste. Beyond the college walls he made ample use of all that the University could give of varied teaching in history, scholarship, and theology. He attended lectures in botany, astronomy, and histology, and

[1] Quoted in "Life and Letters," p. 17.

trained his versatile intellect in numerous directions. But it was in the region of religious thought that he was most profoundly influenced at this period of his life.

ORDINATION.

He was soon drawn into close intimacy with Newman and with other well-known men under his wonderful influence, among whom were Frederick Rogers, afterwards Lord Blachford, and James Mozley. From this time he was carried onward in the stream of the great Oxford Movement, in which he was called to play no mean part. He was ordained Deacon at Christmas, 1839, along with A. P. Stanley, with whom he always maintained pleasant relations; and, somewhat to his regret, was obliged to undertake a tutorship at Oriel. This interfered greatly with his quiet reading, and was not very congenial to his tastes. However, he spent his Long

Vacations partially in foreign travel, but more often in his rooms at Oriel; it was during this period that, under the influence of Newman and Marriott, he learned to realize the true Catholic position of the Church of England. The narrowness of his early religious training quietly dropped off, and he laid the foundations of that strong Churchmanship, which, without being narrowly ecclesiastical or pedantically mediæval, never swerved under the stress of religious panic or popular dislike, from its deeply laid Catholic foundation.

In February, 1841, Newman brought out No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times, and from that date to 1845, Church had to stand by his friend through an almost ceaseless storm of controversy. Church, in a letter to Frederick Rogers written on the 14th of March, 1841, records the circumstances that immediately

TRACT XC.

preceded and followed the publication of the Tract.[1] There had been attacks on the Tractarians in many of the newspapers, especially the Conservative press. The *Times* had rather defended the Oxford School; but the appearance of the Tract and the letter signed by the four Tutors, aroused popular feeling to an almost incredible extent. Church describes the excitement in London, and relates that 2500 copies were sold in less than a fortnight. Church—knowing the attitude taken by his Provost towards the Tracts and their writers—thought it his duty to resign his tutorship, on account of his intimacy with Newman, and his own strong sympathies with the general principles of the Tract; and he knew also that Keble had written to the Vice-Chancellor to the same effect. But he still retained office in his college, and in the

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 27.

following year became Treasurer, and gave a very amusing account of the audit, and the Provost's love for starting small perplexities and difficulties.

II

Controversy—Junior Proctor—The veto on Tract XC—Newman's secession—State of the party—The *Guardian*.

And now began the latter days of the first great epoch of the Oxford revival. Dean Church has described, in his "History of the Oxford Movement," three great events that took place in 1842 and 1843, which he calls the three defeats. The first was the failure of Mr. Isaac Williams in the contest for the Professorship of Poetry; he was identified with the Tractarian party, and the so-called Liberals and Evangelicals united against him. The second was the hindrances raised to the granting of the degree of B.D. to Mr. Macmullen; and the third was the suspension of Dr. Pusey for his celebrated sermon on the Holy Eucharist, and the unhappy condition of the University at this time is thus

clearly described by him: "If the men who ruled the University had wished to disgust and alienate the Masters of Arts, and especially the younger ones who were coming forward into power and influence, they could not have done better. The chronic jealousy and distrust of the time were deepened. And all this was aggravated by what went on in private. A system of espionage, whisperings, backbitings, and miserable tittle-tattle, sometimes of the most slanderous or the most ridiculous kind, was set going all over Oxford. Never in Oxford, before or since, were busybodies more turbulent or more unscrupulous. Difficulties arose between heads of colleges and their tutors. Candidates for fellowships were closely examined as to their opinions and their associates. Men applying for testimonials were cross-questioned on No. 90 as to the infallibility of general councils,

CONTROVERSY.

purgatory, the worship of images, the *Ora pro nobis*, and the intercession of the Saints; the real critical questions upon which men's minds were working being absolutely uncomprehended and ignored. It was a miserable state of misunderstanding and distrust, and none of the University leaders had the temper and manliness to endeavour with justice and knowledge to get to the bottom of it. It was enough to suppose that a Popish conspiracy was being carried on." [1]

These suspicions touched Church himself, and caused some anxiety to his friends. So much so that he felt it necessary to write to assure his mother. He begged her "earnestly not to suspect me. . . . I believe myself in no danger. . . . I never felt a temptation to move. . . . We must be content to live, and perhaps die suspected." [2]

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 334, 335.
[2] "Life and Letters," p. 46.

In April, 1844, he was elected to serve as Proctor along with Mr. Guillemard of Trinity, and he has recorded, in a humorous letter to his mother, some of his experiences of police supervision and inspection. But his duties were not to end there, for his term of office was destined to be a very stormy one. First of all, there was the attempt of the Tractarians to challenge the nomination of Dr. Symons to the Vice-Chancellorship, with the result that they were defeated disastrously by a majority of 883 to 183. But this was only a kind of preparatory skirmish to the much more serious event of the determination to degrade Mr. Ward from his degree, as well as to condemn his book, together with the institution of a new test for compelling members of the University to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles "in the sense in which they were both first published and

JUNIOR PROCTOR.

now imposed." This latter proposition was withdrawn, and in its place an attempt was made to secure a condemnation of Tract 90.

How some of the younger clergy of the day felt about the proposed condemnation may be gathered from the following letter of the Rev. W. H. Burrows, of Christ Church, Albany Street, and afterwards Canon of Rochester: "For both these reasons, I shall oppose the condemnation of No. 90, should it be brought forward; not because I admire the way in which it deals with the Articles, sympathizing so little with them, and glad to make them mean as little as they can, but because I think men holding such opinions may certainly be borne with as Fellows of Colleges and parish priests, if not as college tutors or professors of the University; and we have allowed so many errors to be uncondemned, some imperilling the Creed,

some denying cardinal Church doctrines, such as Regeneration in Baptism, that I dislike the uncatholic appearance of being more tenacious of our differences with Rome, than of our common truths; and I cannot like such a body as Convocation taking in hand such matters."[1]

THE VETO.

In the short interval of ten days, leading men at London and Oxford, including Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. Jowett, expressed their opinion that the joint veto of the proctors should be employed to prevent this measure being carried; and it is believed that it was the steadfast purpose and courage of the Junior Proctor that made it certain that the right would be actually exercised. On February 13, amidst snow and sleet, Oxford was crowded with throngs of undergraduates and members of Convocation, gathered from

[1] "Life of W. H. Burrows," p. 114.

all parts of England. The scene in the Sheldonian Theatre was most exciting. Ward was allowed to make his speech in English amid cheers and groans. The first proposal was carried by 777 to 386; the second by a far more equal division of 569 to 511. But when the third, involving the censure of Tract 90, was proposed by the Vice-Chancellor, the two proctors rose, and the senior, Guillemard, pronounced the veto, "Nobis Procuratoribus non placet," with, as James Mozley writes, "immense effect. A shout of 'Non' was raised, and resounded through the whole buildings, and 'Placets' from the other side, over which Guillemard's 'Nobis Procuratoribus non placet' was heard like a trumpet, and cheered enormously."[1] Church has recorded the effect of this vote: "Such a step, of course, only suspended the vote, and the year of

[1] "Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley," p. 165.

office of these proctors was nearly run. But they had expressed the feeling of those whom they represented. It was shown not only in a largely signed address of thanks —all attempts to revive the decree at the expiration of their year of office failed. The wiser heads in the Hebdomadal Board recognized at last that they had better hold their hand. Mistakes men may commit, and defeats they may undergo, and yet lose nothing that concerns their character for acting as men of a high standard ought to act. But, in this case, mistakes and defeat were the least of what the Board brought on themselves. This was the last act of a long and deliberately pursued course of action; and, if it was the last, it was because it was the upshot and climax: neither the University nor any one else would endure that it should go on any longer. The proposed attack on Mr. Newman betrayed

how helpless they were, and to what paltry acts of worrying it was in their judgment right and judicious to condescend. It gave a measure to their statesmanship, wisdom and good feeling in defending the interests of the Church, and it made a very deep and lasting impression on all who were interested in the honour and welfare of Oxford." [1]

Of his own part in the exercise of the Proctorial veto, he wrote to his mother: "The only thing to relieve the day has been the extreme satisfaction I had in helping to veto the third iniquitous measure against Newman. It was worth while being Proctor to have the unmixed pleasure of doing this." [2]

After the Long Vacation of this year, Church had the inexpressible sorrow of

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 381, 382.
[2] "Life and Letters," p. 57.

hearing that Newman had joined the Church of Rome. What this was to him no one will ever know, for he was remarkably reticent on all matters of the kind. His friendship with Newman had been very close, and highly valued by the latter. In April, 1845, he wrote: "I don't like you to go out of office without my thanks for your kindness to me last February 13;"[1] and in 1871, when dedicating a new edition of his "University Sermons," spoke of Church as one of those "dear friends resident in Oxford . . . who did so much to comfort and uphold me by their patient, tender kindness, and their zealous service on my behalf," and he makes special allusion to the exercise of the Proctorial veto by Church. The secession of Newman was not merely a sharp personal grief to Church, but it brought

[1] "Letters of Newman," vol. ii. p. 466.

with it all the pain of feeling that multitudes would point to it as the confirmation of their prophecies, and the condemnation of the whole Movement. To Church, the departure of Newman from the Anglican Communion, preceded and followed by that of many earnest and even eminent men, was an appalling disaster, and is described by him as "the catastrophe" of the Movement. But he was never one to yield to despair. He was sanguine enough to believe that the cause of the English Church and of the Movement, as a whole, was not by any means lost.

STATE OF THE PARTY.

The state of feeling which existed in the hearts of those who, like James Mozley and Church, remained hopeful and steadfast, is best described in the words of the latter: "The feeling which had often stirred, even when things looked at the worst, that Mr. Newman had

dealt unequally and hardly with the English Church, returned with gathered strength. The English Church was, after all, as well worth living in and fighting for as any other; it was not only in England that light and dark in teaching and life were largely intermingled, and the mixture had to be largely allowed for. We had our Sparta, a noble, if a rough and incomplete one; patiently to do our best for it was better than leaving it to its fate, in obedience to signs and reasonings which the heat of strife might well make delusive. It was one hopeful token, that boasting had to be put away from us for a long time to come. In these days of stress and sorrow were laid the beginnings of a school whose main purpose was to see things as they are; which had learned by experience to distrust unqualified admiration and unqualified disparagement; and

determined not to be blinded even by genius to plain certainties; not afraid to honour all that is great and beneficent in Rome; not afraid, with English frankness, to criticize freely at home; but not to be won over, in one case, by the good things, to condone and accept the bad things; and not deterred, in the other, from service, from love, from self-sacrifice, by the presence of much to regret and to resist. . . . 'A new stage has begun; let no one complain'—this, the expression of individual feeling, represents pretty accurately the temper into which the Church party settled when the first shock was over. They knew that henceforward they had difficult times before them. They knew that they must work under suspicion, even under proscription. They knew that they must expect to see men among themselves perplexed, unsettled, swept away by the influences which had

affected Mr. Newman, and still more by the precedent of his example. They knew that they must be prepared to lose friends and fellow-helpers, and to lose them sometimes unexpectedly and suddenly, as the wont was so often at this time. Above all, they knew that they had a new form of antagonism to reckon with, harder than any they had yet encountered. It had the peculiar sad bitterness which belongs to civil war, when men's foes are they of their own households—the bitterness arising out of interrupted intimacy and affection. Neither side could be held blameless; the charge from the one of betrayal and desertion, was answered by the charge from the other of insincerity and faithlessness to conscience, and by natural, but not always fair attempts to proselytize; and undoubtedly, the English Church, and those who had adhered to it, had for some years

after 1845, to hear from the lips of old friends the most cruel and merciless invectives which knowledge of her weak points, wit, argumentative power, eloquence, and the triumphant exultation at once of deliverance and superiority, could frame." [1]

THE *GUARDIAN.*

One token that the Oxford Movement, though shattered at least for a time, and, so far as the University was concerned, no longer powerful in Oxford, was not by any means dead, was shown in the foundation of the *Guardian* newspaper. Its first number appeared in January, 1846, on the same day as the first issue of the *Daily News*. Church was associated with the origin of what has since become the most important and powerful organ of the High Church party, and, indeed, the most adequately representative newspaper of the whole Anglican

[1] "Oxford Movement," pp. 402–405.

Communion. Among its first principal contributors were Frederick Rogers, James Mozley, Thomas Haddan, Montague Bernard. Church's share in the work was mainly in the writing of reviews, some of which largely helped in gaining consideration for the new venture, and attracted notice by the beautiful style for which the writer has become so deservedly famous.

It is interesting to note that many years afterwards, in 1881, Church records "Gladstone's enthusiastic eulogy of the *Guardian*." "It was," he said, "by far the best weekly account of news to be found in selection and arrangement; it was this point that he dwelt upon: a person reading it could, except for immediate use, dispense with the reading of the daily papers; the news part of it was quite admirable."[1]

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 291.

III

Foreign travel—"Dante"—"Church and State"—Ecclesiastical Courts Commission—"The Discipline of the Christian Character."

THE greater part of the following year was spent by Church abroad, in Greece and Italy, and particularly at Athens, where he visited his uncle, General Church. The Greek scenery and the historic associations are described by him in letters written to friends and relations. The Acropolis, the Piræus, Marathon, and a hundred other classic scenes drew out all his love for the Greek people and their history. Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides were constantly on his lips, and when he reached Constantinople he "wished for a Gibbon twenty times a day." His foreign tour ended with a stay in Florence, in company with his brother, a place they had not visited since their father's

FOREIGN TRAVEL.

death in 1828. The time spent on the Continent was turned to good account in the gathering of much material, afterwards used in essays and articles on Italian and French politics, and it is related that his copy of "Dante," which had been laid on the poet's tomb at Ravenna, is filled with notes bearing witness to his observations of places and associations during these months abroad.

DANTE.

The immediate literary fruit of this study of the great Italian poet was his well-known Essay on "Dante," which was published in the *Christian Remembrancer* in 1850, and has become quite a standard work. It was reprinted in his volume called "Essays and Reviews" in 1854, and republished in 1878, together with a translation of the "De Monarchia" by his son. He himself said that those who know the "Divina Commedia" best will best know how hard it is to be the interpreter of such a mind. It

was "a novel and startling apparition in literature,"[1] abnormal, obscure in phrase, obscure in purpose; yet it not only repels by its strange incongruity, but attracts by its marks of genius as mighty as it is strange. Church was remarkably well qualified to write on such a poem; Italy, its history, its politics, its scenery, its cities, had been well known to him from his earliest days. Its language, which the great poet increasingly loved and valued in spite of his own veneration for Latin, was familiar to Church from his boyhood. Of Dante he said, "He honoured the Latin, but his love was for the Italian; he was its champion and indignant defender against the depreciation of ignorance and fashion."[2] Church showed how Dante was "the restorer of seriousness in literature."[3] He was also a true son of the

[1] "Dante," p. 56. [2] Ibid., p. 115.
[3] Ibid., p. 119.

Church, not sparing the vices of the Church's rulers, but holding fast to the Divine mission and spiritual powers of Holy Church. The discipline, the prayers, the melodies, the ritual, the hours of devotion, the Sacraments of the Church, mould the form of much of his great poem. He rises above the mere popular estimate of Saints, and recognizes the great men of all times; Justinian, Constantine, Charlemagne, as well as Augustine, Bernard, Aquinas, and Bonaventure. He realized that the good heathen, like Cato, Virgil, Trajan, had a real guide and light from above. "Dante's all-surveying, all-embracing mind was worthy to open the grand procession of modern poets."[1] Church has noted the poet's beautiful allusions to the hours of day and night, the sinking of the sun, the flaming sunset, the sheet-lightning of summer, the stars coming out one by

[1] "Dante," p. 131.

one, the fire-flies of the Italian summer night; the scented freshness of the breeze before daybreak, the chill before early morning, the dawn stealing on, the blue gradually gathering in the east, the distant sea-beach quivering in the early light. "Light in general is his special and chosen source of poetic beauty; . . . he must have studied and dwelt upon it like music."[1] There are fearful images and pictures in the "Inferno," but they are drawn to make men shudder and shrink at the awfulness of human sin. Dante's own character and life are admirably depicted, and the connection between his own trials and his poem is noted. "It is the work of a wanderer; the very form in which it is cast is that of a journey, difficult, perilous, toilsome, and full of change; . . . it belongs, in its date and its greatness, to the time when sorrow had become the poet's

[1] "Dante," p. 152.

daily portion and the condition of his daily life."[1] Church has described in language that almost expresses his own ideas of the relation of the Church to the State, Dante's hopes of a future Christian Government for Italy. "In his philosophy, the institutions which provide for man's peace and liberty in this life are part of God's great order for raising men to perfection; not indispensable, yet ordinary parts, having their important place, though but for the present time; and, though imperfect, real instruments of His moral government. He could not believe it to be the intention of Providence, that on the introduction of higher hopes and the foundation of a higher society, civil society should collapse and be left to ruin, as henceforth useless or prejudicial in man's trial and training; that the significant intimations of nature, that law and its results, justice, peace

[1] "Dante," p. 48.

and stability, ought to be and might be realized among men, had lost their meaning and faded away before the announcement of a Kingdom not of this world. And if the perfection of civil society had not been superseded by the Church, it had become clear, if events were to be read as signs, that she was not intended to supply its political offices and functions. She had taught, elevated, solaced, blessed, not only individual souls, but society; she had for a time even governed it; but, though her other powers remained, she could govern it no longer. Another and distinct organization was required for this, unless the temporal order was no longer worthy of the attention of Christians." [1]

It is not difficult to understand that with such thoughts as these in his mind, Church should have written at the same time that

[1] "Dante," p. 89.

very important article on "Church and State" which also made its appearance in the same publication. The effect of this admirable statement of the true relation of the Church of England to the Royal Supremacy was to quiet many minds which had been grievously disturbed by the Gorham judgment delivered in the same year.

Among these was his friend James B. Mozley, who wrote: "Church's article is very good, and will, I hope, have the effect of quieting some minds who think so fearfully of our Reformation Erastianism. It had the effect upon me as if one whole side of the truth, which had been completely suppressed throughout this controversy, and all the controversy of the last twenty years, had now fairly come out. Of course, we shall displease our ultra friends who are eager for a convulsion. I confess I am

not. Nor do I see anything, in the temper of those who are, which attracts me." [1]

Its main purpose was to claim for the Church ecclesiastical freedom, and for the unhampered spiritual liberty of an English National Synod. At the same time, it clearly pointed out that in many parts of Europe the sovereign had exercised very considerable powers in connection with the discipline, worship, and doctrine of the Church. Justinian in the Eastern Empire, and Charlemagne in the revived Western Empire, each with the consent and even approval of the Church, took an active part in the definitions of doctrine, in the regulation of worship, and maintenance of discipline. The minute rules concerning clerical life and duties, the abolition of Gallican liturgies in favour of the Roman rite, the maintenance of the Western type

[1] "Letters of Rev. J. B. Mozley," p. 203.

of the so-called Creed of Constantinople, are measures quite as strong in their way as any of those carried out by Tudor or Stuart sovereigns. Later French and English kings, before the great upheaval of the sixteenth century, did not shrink from at least a visitatorial power in their own realms. Church pointed out that the great difficulty of the present day was the changed condition of the royal prerogative, not only in England, but in other countries as well, and he strongly urged that it would be very unjust to interpret the Royal Supremacy as meaning a recognition of the sole and supreme authority of Parliament in the legislation of the Church. The Church in olden times had to deal with a personal sovereign, and one, moreover, who recognized and respected the spiritual authority of the Church. He believed, however, that the autonomy of the Church, fairly stated,

would commend itself to the conscience of the nation. Disestablishment to him was by no means a desirable solution of the difficulty. "If it comes," he said, "we may turn it to account, as it has been turned to account abroad. But before it came, the Church abroad shrank from no sacrifice which she could consider lawful to avert it; she well knew what she would lose by it, whatever might be its compensations. And, surely, the Church here would be inexcusable if she courted it, or needlessly let it come to pass. This great nation of Englishmen is committed to her trust; if she cannot influence them, what other body has a more reasonable hope? If they will break away from her or cast her off, let it be clearly their fault, not hers and that of her clergy." [1]

Church never saw any reason to change

[1] *Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1850, lxviii. p. 516.

or modify the general principles contained in this essay, for he republished it without alterations more than thirty years afterwards, and a recent reprint of it may serve to show that it may have a permanent value in settling the still unsolved problem of how to maintain the union between Church and State without the sacrifice of Catholic principles or the denial of the just rights of the civil Government.

That he never retreated from this position is proved by the fact that, many years later, in 1881–83, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and Dean Church was called upon to supply information. He contributed a very important paper, entitled "Notes on the Constitutional System of the Gallican Church," and traced in outline the history of the relations between the Crown, the

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS COMMISSION.

Pope, and the Church. He gave a full account of the appeals allowed, and illustrated it from events and precedents, carrying the history right down to the concordat of 1801 between Napoleon and the Pope. He also appeared as a witness, and was examined at considerable length. Perhaps the substance of his evidence may be best given in a paper which he read and put in at the close of his examination: "Points important to be attended to: (1) Arrest the tendency, which is comparatively a new one, to govern the Church by case-made law. Guard against absorbing it by legislation, such as that which created the present Arches Court into a department of the State. I find this sentence quoted from a German book (Rothe, 'Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche,' quoted by Mr. Gladstone, 'The Theses of Erastus,' iii. p. 22): 'The Church is destined, according to the

law of nature and of Providence, to be absorbed in the State.' That, I believe, is the opinion of a considerable number of people in the present day; and that, I think, we have to guard against. Then (2) restore to the Church, as required by the changes of time, the reasonable and just power of dealing with her worship, subject to the cognizance and check of the State. (3) Discountenance the spirit of persecution, for which all parties have suffered, and for which all parties are to blame, but most those who make special boast of tolerance; and give to the different parties in the Church what each can fairly claim on the ground of documents and formularies. Lastly, I venture to put this: Remember that behind all these questions is the Roman controversy, and that one of the most telling allegations on the Roman side is that the English Church is the creature of the State,

so tied and bound that it cannot settle so small a matter as its ritual, or so great a question as its doctrine, except by a State or lay court." [1]

Church's opinions and judgment had by this time reached a mature form, and his life at Oxford, which was soon to come to an end, had greatly enriched "and deepened his life." "Oxford has been a glorious place for me," he wrote. In those eighteen years he had had great anxieties as well as great happiness. The great sorrow of Newman's secession, quickly followed by the domestic grief of his mother's death, were not without their lasting effects upon his character. He passed, as it were, through a fire which purified and braced him. Henceforth he "called no man master." He learned more and more to form his judgment

[1] "Report of the Commissioners on the Constitution and Working of the Ecclesiastical Courts," vol. ii. p. 353.

independently, except in entire trust in Divine guidance. Healing and softening influences in his engagement to Miss Bennett, niece of Dr. Moberly, and in restored friendship with the Provost of Oriel, were soon to follow; but even these did not prevent his departure from Oxford being felt as a serious trial.

It is impossible not to gather that the general subject of that beautiful series of sermons entitled "The Discipline of the Christian Character," dedicated to Lord Blachford, "in remembrance of a long friendship," contains the experience, conscious or unconscious, of much that he passed through in the eighteen Oxford years. These sermons unfold the various stages of the development of the Christian character—the recognition by the soul of its separate responsibility as it is revealed in the story

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER.

of Abraham. This is the first awakening to the reality of religion, which he illustrates by a quotation from Newman's Sermons, vol. i. p. 23: "God is God, and I am I; and we begin by degrees, as it has been said, to perceive that there are but two beings in the whole universe, two only supreme and self-evident luminous beings,—our own soul, and the God Who made it."[1]

In the second sermon, the next important element in the development of the Christian character is shown to be the moral law; without obedience to the Divine Command, and to the certainties of duty, great religious characters have been spoilt, and great religious efforts marred. "Let us not fall," he said, "into the deadly self-deceit that, because we are religious in wish, in feeling, we are dispensed from the obligations and restrictions which we see bind others;

[1] Cf. "Apologia," p. 4.

because we are, as we think, 'good people;' because we have the feeling of being in the right way; because God, it may be, has greatly favoured us, we may venture on what conscience persists in warning us is unlawful, is wrong. Let us not think that because we frequent Sacraments and delight in Divine Service, and feel devotion and uplifting of heart in prayer, we need not fear the temptations which are 'common to man;' that we can afford to indulge our dislike of trouble, or relax our care and vigilance, or neglect plain duties, or can be bold in things more dangerous still. Not the stern and vigorous Law only, but the New Testament, puts this danger before us. It has some dreadful foreshadowings of self-deceit, dreaming of its innocence, and exposed too late. Even good people like to do what their hearts prompt them to, and shut their eyes to the question of right or

wrong; and this is the answer that may one day meet them, when they ask whether they have not been devoted to the service and household of Christ—'I never knew you.'"[1]

To the severe ethical schooling of the Law there follows the devotional education of the Psalms, and the training of the imagination and thoughts in the vast and diversified domain of prophecy. In the third sermon this subject was thus dealt with: "The Psalms are to many of us our daily companions. Week after week, and month after month, they are the universal language of worship in the whole Christian Church; and if anything is certain in the world, it is that they will still be found the language of worship when He comes again. The Prophets still teach, inspire, rebuke us. Nothing in the whole range of poetry,

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 48–50.

nothing in Greek or Italian art, equals to English minds and feelings the wondrous beauty of those passages of Isaiah, which take soul and ear with their inexplicable charm of thought and melody; which surprise us in hours of joy and trouble and hope, with new and unthought-of force of meaning, which haunt our memories with their undying music. And through all this long and varied schooling—varied in degree and in method, which we trace from Abraham to the Prophets, there is one thing always growing in depth and strength and purity—the passion for righteousness, the hatred of iniquity." [1]

In the fourth sermon he showed how the perfect standard and ideal of religious character was manifested in Jesus Christ. All the rest had been leading up to this; and the realization of this character in the

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 77, 78.

followers of Christ is the one thing wanted in every age of the world's history. "My brethren," he said, "be of those who have done something to raise the standard of righteousness in the world. Some of you may have noticed the saying, quoted the other day, of a keen observer, who was not a believer: 'The advance of society'—he might have said, the 'advance of the Kingdom of God'—'depends on the constant exertions of the good man; when he abandons these exertions, it drops back like lead.' Do we not need, in these perilous times—of which the splendour, and power, and bewildered moral and religious thought remind us, at moments, of the closing days of the Roman Empire—do we not need to clear our confused fancies, to readjust our standard, to retemper our slack souls, to refresh our hopes, by setting before us the health and directness and simplicity of the

religious character, shown in the New Testament?"[1]

In the last sermon he enlarged upon the imitation of Jesus Christ, as having been the great power in the world, since the times of Apostles and Martyrs, down through all the ages. The character of Christ reflected "in all variations of thought and manners, in all sorts and conditions of men, from the king on his throne, an Alfred and St. Louis, statesmen, soldiers, merchants, students of nature or science, down to the lowly maidservant or labourer, whose humble and Christlike goodness amid pain and sickness so touched and wrought on men round them, that the popular love and reverence canonized them and raised them into the guardian saints of their cities."[2] And he

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 108, 109.

[2] Ibid., 123, 124.

illustrated this leading idea of the closing sermon of so beautiful a series, with words from Thomas à Kempis and Bishop Wilson, and the following last sentences of his own: "The serious love of the unseen Christ, a great sentiment, and the highest of all affections, raised to the power of a master principle of life, has not yet died out. It still wields its power over the wills of men. By God's mercy, God be thanked, it has yet great things to do. It has asked and received the sacrifice of richly equipped and noble lives; it still asks and receives the sacrifice of lives that might have been spent amid all that modern life can most innocently give, to the hard and distasteful tasks for which modern life so urgently calls; it may be that last great sacrifice that man can offer—'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' This—this charity that

never shall fail—this is the finish and crown of the religious character as it was new-created in Christ, as it can be on earth. This, while we are here in the flesh, is to have the 'mind of Christ.'"[1]

[1] "The Discipline of the Christian Character," pp. 138, 139.

IV

Marriage—Whatley—Parochial work—Restorations—Worship—Village sermons—Clerical meetings—Correspondence—"Essays and Reviews"—Papal infallibility—Education—Politics—Foreign events—"Life of St. Anselm."

TOWARDS the close of 1852 Church was offered the living of Whatley, near Frome, in Somerset, a parish of three hundred inhabitants, at that time ten miles away from a railway station. The church, with its pointed spire, stands high above a deep and wooded valley in a pretty undulating country. He was ordained Priest in Advent, and went to reside immediately afterwards. His marriage took place in the following July. Here in a quiet rural village, far removed from any great centre, the cultured Oxford scholar found himself in the midst of rustics unaccustomed to strangers, and without any

MARRIAGE.

experience of the advantages of a resident incumbent and his family, for the previous Rector had for many years been non-resident. The church was of the ordinary type of those days, with its gallery full of school-children, its decorations only to be seen at Christmas in the form of sprigs of holly stuck about the pews. Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms, and the few Hymns usually printed at the end of the Prayer-book, formed the only hymnary. The Holy Communion had only been celebrated quarterly, and at Christmas and Easter. There was, indeed, apparently nothing to make up for the loss of friends and interests which he had left behind him at Oxford. "The weather is very fine," he wrote, "and the country looking very pretty; but it does not reconcile me to my transplanting; I think all day long of Shotover and the bowls at the Observatory,

and my den, cold and dirty as it was, at Oriel."[1]

But so loving a character, and so earnest a servant of his Master, did not long allow these uncongenial surroundings to stand in the way of his fulfilling his duty to his flock. He spent much time with the children in the week-day, Sunday, and night schools; and, not content with taking part in the ordinary religious instruction, he instituted amusements for both boys and girls, and brought to bear his knowledge of botany in interesting them in the wild flowers of the neighbourhood. He entered into the daily life of the people, their work and their gardens, and, as has been said by one who knew him, "they felt that he was interested even in their pigs." He soon knew them all—their faces, their names, their dispositions. His

PAROCHIAL WORK.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 138.

influence among the rough lads and men resulted in a great improvement in manners. He could be very tender in the sick-room, where he often sat for hours watching with the dying; but he could also be very stern when occasion required, as Dean Paget has said: "But patient as he was, he could be angry when need came; angry with a quiet and self-possessed intensity, which made his anger very memorable. The sight of injustice, of strength or wealth presuming on its advantages, of insolence —a word that came from his lips with a peculiar ring and emphasis—called out in him something like the passion that has made men patriots when their people were oppressed, something of that temper which will always make tyranny insecure, and persecution hazardous."[1]

Mr. Church effected many material

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 21.

improvements at Whatley. The rectory, which was prettily situated, and had a northern aspect, was completely altered in order that the sitting-rooms might have the advantage of that sunshine which was so dear to one born in Italy. He planted in the grounds slips of cypress brought from Michael Angelo's garden; built a conservatory, and took great pains with his flowers. During his incumbency the church was entirely restored; a new chancel was built in 1858 under Mr. Street, the architect, and the rest of the church renovated in 1870. With characteristic pathos he expressed in a letter his regret "that we were taking leave of the church as it is, and has been since I have been here; and the last meeting, even with the horrid old pews which we have been accustomed to so long, has something touching in it. 'On ne se détache jamais sans douleur.'

RESTORATIONS.

Pascal says, even from the church decorations of old William Shore!"[1]

But what struck people more than the external improvements that he carried out, was the reverence of his ministrations and the earnestness of his preaching. One who lived for years at Whatley has recorded the impression made by his manner of celebrating the Holy Eucharist. "The first thing that impressed us all was the extreme solemnity and devotion with which Mr. Church celebrated the Holy Communion. We had heard nothing there about the Eastward Position; but I can see now his slight figure, bent in lowly reverence before the altar, giving the whole service a new and higher and holier meaning by his bearing and entire absorption in the act of worship."[2]

WORSHIP.

Of his preaching at this time, it is not

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 193. [2] Ibid., p. 141.

difficult to judge of the matter and method, from the volumes of his village sermons, which have been published. It has been said of them, "The thinking is clear as crystal, and the language simplicity itself." They embrace a large range of subjects, including the great doctrines linked with Advent, Lent, Easter, and the other great festivals. The Person, the mind, and the character of Christ are constantly dealt with. But they are wonderfully practical, and must have been easily understood by the country-folk who heard them. Christ's never-failing sympathy is thus spoken of in a sermon on the Marriage at Cana: "He will be with us not only in church and in prayer, not only in times of trouble and visitation, when we need Him to help us, but in times of rejoicing and holiday, to make our joy greater and our holiday brighter. He is

VILLAGE SERMONS.

ready to be with us on those great days which are the white days of our life, and which we keep in remembrance all our days after—a marriage, a christening, a first sight and visit in some new place which fills us with wonder and gladness, a meeting with an old friend long out of sight, a pleasant company, a happy day of pleasuring, an unexpected piece of good fortune." Very simple but profitable are the following words on the never-failing providence of God: "We know not what God may choose to take from us; what light in our sky He may darken or put out; what power in our souls He may cloud over or withdraw. We know not what a day may bring forth. But what we do know is that in it all and with it all there comes to those who put their trust in God, a Hand which wisely and strongly orders all things; there comes

the Providence which beholds all things from end to end; there is present the same protection of that everlasting Goodness which has never failed those that hope in Him, which is able, through all appearance of loss and overthrow and perishing, to save to the uttermost what is committed to His charge." [1]

Of the duty of coming to the Lord's Table, and not letting the convenient season pass by, the following impressive words speak for themselves: "It must be in yourself that the change must be. It must be you yourself, and not outward things, sickness or calls or impressions from others, which is to make the step and fulfil the duty. It is you who must make the opportunity, not wait for it; or rather, I will say that God will most surely give you the opportunity, but you must seize it for yourself.

[1] "Village Sermons" (Second Series), i. p. 42.

You must make the convenient season, and make that convenient which is the only season you can make sure of—the present; and be sure that there is no truer word in the world than this, that he who waits for the convenient season in matters of duty will never find it." [1]

Nothing could be easier to grasp than the following words on the great importance of the Holy Eucharist: "As the sacrifice and death of Christ is the greatest, if we may so speak, among Christian truths, so the Sacrament of the Lord's death is the greatest among Christian ordinances. And the reason of the greatness of the Sacrament is the greatness of the truth from which it flows, of which it is the witness and pledge, with which it is joined in all our thoughts of it, in the blessings which we hope for in it. Because we hope in the death of Christ

[1] "Village Sermons" (First Series), p. 241.

we are drawn to remember it in the Sacrament. Because the love of Christ crucified is the salvation of the world, we thankfully embrace that which is on earth its never-changing token." [1]

Two more quotations seem to include some personal experience of the preacher. "Never does this state of trial come to an end. The particular trial and temptation may, but not the state of trial itself. One trial is overcome and disappears, but another comes at once into its place, to challenge us again to show our heart, our courage, our faith. For we have lost our title to rest and ease; it is a blessing that we have the chance given us here to regain, for a day which is yet to come. When we have borne the heavy blow, which has perhaps taken from us one whom we loved, then comes the long course of daily life, in which

[1] "Village Sermons" (Second Series), p. 112.

we have to learn to do without our best and wisest adviser, our most faithful stay. When Christ had overcome the devil in the wilderness, then came, one after another, the temptations of every day, from the thankless or selfish or the malicious men around Him."[1]

"So rest and trust. Rest and be calm. Rest and look back and take account of what is gone; and give thyself time to feel and measure better the love wherewith God has loved thee, and the bonds and ties which ought to fasten thy heart to Him. Rest and wait. If He send thee comfort, wait and thank Him; if it be not His pleasure to take away the clouds, or if He exercise thee with pain, yet abide His will and wait. Wait His will, wait what He may yet have to show thee. Wait His time, now especially that the long round of

[1] "Village Sermons" (Third Series), p. 228.

time and opportunities and chances is well-nigh run through and thou canst no longer make time, make opportunities as once it used to be possible. Wait, for He is pleased with waiting when men wait patiently and humbly." [1]

CLERICAL MEETINGS.

He was a very acceptable member of the local clerical society. He rarely took part in verbal discussions at the meetings, but if any friend, after they were over, could catch him, he would open out his mind and give his judgment on the subjects considered in a very interesting and instructive manner. Occasionally he was persuaded to read papers on one of the Fathers, as for instance, St. Jerome, and those who recollect them regret that they have not been published, if indeed they have been preserved.

Much of his leisure at Whatley was

[1] "Village Sermons" (Third Series), p. 337.

occupied with correspondence with several intimate friends. Among these were Dr. Asa Grey, the eminent American botanist, whose acquaintance he had made at Oxford; Mr. Manuel Johnson of the Observatory, Oxford; Mr. Frederick Rogers, and Professor Mozley. In these letters will be found not only interesting reference to scientific questions, such as the distribution of species, cross fertilization, and astronomical observations, but discussion of great political and social events. It is remarkable how well balanced is his judgment on so many different subjects. Of the first Oxford University Commission he could say he was a well-wisher to many of the changes; but, remembering the cultivated thought that Oxford had turned out, he was nervous as to the result, which might be a revolution rather than a reform. Of Mozley's book on Baptismal

CORRESPONDENCE.

Regeneration, which had disturbed the minds of many High Churchmen, he could write calmly in favour of not narrowing "the liberty of thinking." He was able to appreciate the just criticisms passed on "Essays and Reviews," which he described as "a reckless book, though in it were many good and true things. . . . But," he says, "there has been a great deal of unwise panic, and unjust and hasty abuse, and people who have not an inkling of the difficulties which beset the questions, are for settling them in a summary way, which is perilous for every one; however, I hope the time of protest and condemnation is now passing away, and the time of examination and discussion in a quieter tone beginning." [1]

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS.

In the opposition to the consecration of Bishop Temple, he thought there had

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 157.

been much exaggeration on the part of those who criticized his share in the publication of that book. But at the same time, he thought that Dr. Temple might very well have given some explanation without any compromise of liberty. At any rate, his estimate of Bishop Temple as an energetic, high-souled, and most religious Bishop, has been amply verified. The Vatican Council and the treatment of the party that opposed the definition of infallibility called forth his wonder at the internal condition of the Roman Church. "People there" (at Rome), he said, "have been talking rhetoric for ages beyond their real thought, and now that they are taken at their word, they are all in confusion." His view of national education was that Mr. Forster's Bill was meant to be studiously impartial in its dealing with religious

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

EDUCATION.

teaching. But the antagonism of the Nonconformists led them to throw themselves on the secular side, rather than let the Church get an advantage. The following statement is characteristic: "I should not be for an Established Church in a country like this if all was to begin *de novo*. But with our history, habits, and conditions of life, what damages the Church, damages the best chances of simple unsectarian religion. It would be a long time before any system could grow up to take the place of our parish churches and superintendence in country places." [1]

POLITICS.

In politics he declared himself a Conservative by instinct and feeling, but was repelled by the negative and barren policy of the Conservative party. Gladstone appeared to him "very great and noble," but wanting in knowledge

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 189.

of men, and apt to speak rashly. Of great political events outside his own country, he expressed himself freely. The Chinese War of 1857 he declared to be a war "on false pretences," though he could not help allowing that the Chinese were "a very provoking people." The great struggle in America, which ended in the destruction of slavery, interested him greatly. During the terrible war between France and Germany in 1870, while he could see the corruption of the Empire, and the insolence of France bringing down retribution, yet he always admired the French nation as "too grand a race, with all their faults, to be missed out of the civilized world."[1] "Poor France!" he said: "my feelings go backwards and forwards. How terribly appropriate is the chastisement for her awful offences! . . . how piteous is

FOREIGN EVENTS.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 192.

the sight of a nation like France, so full of all that is kindly and good, fairly going to pieces."[1] But, on the other hand, he dreaded the growth of the military spirit in Germany, lest with all its complete and masterly display of great qualities, it should lead to the establishment of an unscrupulous audacity, like that of the Prussia of Frederick the Great. It may be thought that the carefully balanced statements, to which he gave expression on so many and so widely differing questions, might imply a lack of decision in framing a definite judgment. But one who knew him well has judged rightly of his manner of looking at things. "It was probably through this diversity of gifts and studies that he gained a peculiar breadth of thought in deliberation and in judgment. He saw things largely, with an ample and appreciative survey of their

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 194.

conditions; that which would especially appeal to the scholar or the man of science, neither displacing nor being displaced by the dominant interest of the historian. And scanning thus the richness of the view, he was apt to take with him, in judging the affairs and cases of ordinary life, a broader volume of thought, a greater multitude of considerations, than most men bear in mind. He was less likely than most men to forget, in forming a judgment, something that should have been remembered; something that told upon the problem, that might help one towards precisely solving it. . . . Statesmanship has always been a rare quality among men, and it has so often and so disastrously been claimed or imagined, where it was not, that its very name is in danger of discredit. But it is hard to find another word which would as well suggest the Dean's

HIS POWERS OF JUDGMENT.

way of making up his mind, his broad range of thought, his prompt dismissal of all that was irrelevant or unimportant, his steady hand in balancing considerations and his just sense of proportion, his patient endurance and frank avowal of uncertainty, his strong refusal to be unjust even to his own side, his undismayed anticipation of great perils and unexcited contemplation of great aims, his quality of courage for self-refraining, and for decisive action." [1]

In addition to other dangers, the great snare of the Tractarian party was the tendency to regard great questions from a narrow Anglican point of view; but a wide range of study, a thorough knowledge and experience of foreign countries and their history, and a natural and acquired breadth of character, not only prevented Church from falling into that danger, but

[1] "Life and Letters," pp. 14–16.

enabled him to educate largely the High Church party, in following him in his statesmanlike method of treating difficult problems.

The quiet years at Whatley were rich in literary study and work. Among these may be mentioned his interesting "Life of St. Anselm," originally published in 1853, in a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews," but enlarged and republished in 1870. It is an admirable specimen of his historical work. The history of the Monastery of Bec, the constitution and the inner life of a Norman religious house, the greatness of Lanfranc and the beauty of the character of Anselm are delightfully described. He does full justice to the ecclesiastical administration of William, and his impartial choice of worthy men, irrespective of all prejudice of family and nation. "While the Conqueror

ST. ANSELM.

lived," he said, "there was government in the State and the Church; there was a strong love of order, the purpose of improvement, the sense of the value of law, the hatred of anarchy and misrule, and the firm mind to put them down."[1] When the Red King succeeded, all was changed, all was brutality and misrule, kingdoms and states were treated "as a wicked landlord treated his tenants."[2] Anselm, against his will made Archbishop of Canterbury, had to fight the battle "of law against tyranny, of reason against self-will, of faith in right against worldliness and brute force."[3]

It is characteristic of Church's great fairness to judge Anselm in his appeal to Rome, not in any narrow Anglican spirit, but from the point of view of the necessities of the time. "We see, perhaps, in what

[1] "St. Anselm," p. 141. [2] Ibid., p. 165.
[3] Ibid., p. 223.

he did, an appeal against his king, against the constitution of England and the independent rights of the nation, to a foreign power. If we see with the eyes of his own age, we shall see the only appeal practicable then from arbitrary rule to law."[1] How true is his contention that the attempt to erect the papal throne as a tribunal of truth and justice may have proved "the grandest and most magnificent failure in human history! But it had not yet been proved to be a failure."[2] This is the very view he had expressed as early as 1844 in a letter to Archdeacon Manning, when he recorded his appreciation of the great good attempted, and sometimes achieved, through the papal supremacy. He drew an interesting parallel between the deathbed of Anselm and Richard Hooker, and the true place of the former in the history of

[1] "St. Anselm," p. 225. [2] Ibid., p. 253.

the Church is well described: "I have mentioned that the last Abbot of Bec was M. de Talleyrand. The Pope who formally canonized St. Anselm is said to have been Alexander VI., Roderic Borgia. In the visible Church the evil are ever mingled with the good . . ." "But a very different judge had already interpreted the opinion of Christendom about Anselm. Before he had suffered the indignity of canonization at the hands of Borgia, Dante had consecrated his memory and assigned him a place with those whom the Church honoured as her Saints. The great singer of Christian Europe, in his vision of Paradise, sees him among the spirits of light and power, in the sphere of the sun—the special 'ministers of God's gifts of reason'—among those whom the Middle Age reverenced as having shown to it what the human intellect, quickened by the love of God, could do,

in the humblest tasks and sacrifices and in the highest flights, with prophets, historians, and philosophers; with theologians and jurists; with the glories of the great Orders—St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, and with their lowly first-fruits." [1]

Other publications of this period of his life were the first book of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," with an introductory essay, and a volume of University Sermons; but this limited reference to his works gives scarcely any adequate idea of the literary fulness and diligent study of the quiet life at Whatley, which was soon to be broken up by the great change of his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's.

[1] "St. Anselm," pp. 301, 302.

V

A great change—Farewell to the country—St. Paul's Cathedral—Reform—The Chapter—The Choir—The fabric and services—The position of the Great Cathedral in the Church.

IT is interesting to notice other similar changes that took place about this time. A GREAT CHANGE. Two of his Oriel friends were brought out of comparative retirement like his own into important spheres of influence—Fraser was sent from Ufton to rule the huge diocese of Manchester; and James Mozley to the Regius Professorship of Theology at Oxford, to which he was to add new honours by his remarkable lectures and sermons. These three instances of great minds, trained in quiet retirement and study for future years of influence and labour, are by no means

singular in the history of the Church. It is sometimes objected that the Anglican system of patronage often leaves men of great talents to live out their lives in obscure parishes, among uncongenial surroundings and unappreciative people. But not seldom the isolation and the retirement bring with them valuable opportunities for self-culture. This was certainly the case with Church, who used the time thus given him in the training of his powers, and the accumulation of ever-increasing stores of knowledge. The country life, which at first seemed dreary and trying, as the years went by, brought with it many charms. He always felt the distance from London as a hindrance to hearing and seeing persons and things that might interest and help him. But there was no element of discontent in his acquiescence in so long a period of separation from the active and

busy life of a University or city, and he never grasped at any proffered opportunity of changing his sphere of work. The offer of a Canonry at Worcester, by Mr. Gladstone, though in many respects pleasing and inviting, was declined with much regret, not for the Canonry which he refused, but because it might appear ungracious towards Mr. Gladstone. His real motives were a dread of appearing as "a lucky High Churchman" rewarded for taking the side of Irish Disestablishment, and, what was still higher, the resolve not to accept greater responsibility than he felt competent to deal with. When the offer of the Deanery of St. Paul's came to him, he hesitated long, and not until "Gladstone would not let him off," and friends from all sides pressed him to accept, did he yield.

When the time came for him to leave Whatley, the sense of what he was parting

from was keenly painful. He said plainly, "I have made a great mistake in changing this peaceful life . . . for that tangle and whirlpool of ecclesiastical politics."[1]

Now, with all their force, he realized the blessings of that country life—"Sun and air, green fields and flowers," home in a lovely spot, a centre of "deep and growing affection."[2] And in front of him, London —with its gloomy atmosphere, the Deanery like a prison shut in with high walls, weary official work, busy administration, reform of abuses—it was with such sinking of heart, and much self-depreciation, that he looked forward to the great task laid upon him.

Perhaps for the very reason that he felt so keenly the difficulties of his new position, he was able to meet its crushing responsibility and constant demands with ever-increasing wisdom and faithful, patient courage.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 202. [2] Ibid.

FAREWELL TO THE COUNTRY.

He expressed tenderly, with a pathos that rivals the famous Littlemore Sermon by Newman on "The Parting of Friends," the deep sorrow that he felt at parting from his parishioners, in a farewell sermon. He preached from 1 Cor. vii. 29, 31, and dwelt on the many striking events that had passed during the nineteen years of his incumbency —the wars, like those of the Crimea, and the Indian Mutiny, that had touched them closely, even in that quiet spot; the great wars of Europe and America, and the help given by labouring people to the sick and wounded. He spoke of all that had passed in the perfect quiet of their village, the festivals, the services, the happy meetings, the death-beds. He gave thanks for the unbroken peace and happiness of his own home, and of the joy it had been to him to see the Church restored. He spoke

humbly of the shortcomings of his own ministry; he besought them with his last words to begin once more a better life in prayer, church-going, and Communion. He commended his successor to their love and charity; he asked their forgiveness for any cause of offence given by him as solemnly as if he were on his death-bed; he invited them to lay aside all differences and misunderstandings, and be united. And these were his closing words: "And now the end is come. We shall go home to our firesides, never more to meet as we have met this afternoon, as we have met well-nigh every Sunday afternoon for nearly nineteen years. And is not the time short? Have we, indeed, brought 'our years to an end as it were a tale that is told'? It has passed as the days will again pass between this and our last day in this life. 'Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the

evening;' and the evening, the last evening, is here. O kind and loving friends, O warm-hearted and attached neighbours, O loyal, affectionate hearts, we must be together no more. You have been to me what no other people have ever been to me, what I cannot hope that any others ever will be. There is but one place where again we can be together, and that is not on this side the grave. Here we part for good. Oh, my dear friends, let us look on to that other meeting, and being together. Let us wait and help one another, and remember one another till that meeting comes; it will not be long coming. How shall I bid you farewell? May we not take the words in which the great Apostle bade farewell to those whom he loved? Can I wish you better than he wished in to-day's Epistle: 'For this cause we . . . do not cease to pray for you, and

to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of His will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God'?

"May I not end with this earnest adjuration: 'Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you'? 'And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the Word of His grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.'"[1]

The great task he had to undertake was "to set St. Paul's in order as the great English Cathedral before the eyes of the country."[2] Those only who are old enough to remember the

ST. PAUL'S.

[1] "Village Sermons," xxii. [2] "Life and Letters," p. 202.

aspect of the great building and the character of its services up to the middle of the last century, and to compare them with their present condition, can realize how great the transformation has been. It must, of course, be remembered that Dean Milman had done something to remove the reproach of the neglected condition of St. Paul's, and that Dean Mansel in his short tenure of office had made many plans and preparations in view of a complete reformation. But it was left mainly to Dean Church to carry out successfully that work which has made St. Paul's so great a centre of Church life in London, and so splendid a model of what a cathedral can be and do. He was happy in having such colleagues as Liddon, Gregory, Lightfoot, and afterwards Scott Holland. Any one who understands what is meant by the united action of a

REFORM.

Dean and Chapter, inspired by the same zeal for cathedral work, love for their Church and its services, clear apprehension of the immense value of the cathedral system when worked loyally and efficiently, will see how great an opportunity was placed in Church's hands. Nothing can be more disastrous to the success of a cathedral than the filling up of its Chapter with men who have little in common, and who have no special qualifications for capitular work, and no real love for cathedral institutions. The Canons of St. Paul's under Dean Church were admirable friends and coadjutors. Powers of oratory, business capacity, theological attainments, were contributed by them each according to his measure, and all lent their united aid to place things on a worthy footing.

THE CHAPTER.

The condition of the choir was far from

satisfactory. There were many old abuses to be dealt with, the music was far from adequate, the whole tone of the services sadly lacking in devotion and reverence. If he was happy in being surrounded by a body of Canons so remarkable for their great gifts, he was also singularly fortunate in having as organist, Dr. Stainer, and as Master of the Choristers, the Rev. A. Barff; the value he placed on the great and successful services of the latter is expressed in his dedication to him of his Advent Sermons in the following words: "Who by his faithfulness and wisdom has made the choristers' work a religious service." Stainer's transformation of a slovenly performance and perfunctory rendering of thinly attended daily services and unimpressive Sunday worship, into a magnificent type of a great musical act of homage offered to the Almighty, besides

THE CHOIR.

attracting large and devout congregations, demands a separate record. It is sufficient to say that the choral services of St. Paul's, and especially the choral Eucharist, have been pronounced by great musicians to be almost without rivals in Europe.

Those who knew St. Paul's sixty years ago, could never have looked forward to the time when, "in addition to the eighteen professional gentlemen who form the men's voice part of the regular cathedral choir, there is a body of volunteers who sing at the 7 p.m. Evensong on Sundays, and are known as the Evening Service Choir. There is also another Voluntary Special Service Choir, numbering some three hundred, who take part in those services when an augmented choir is needed."[1] Our

[1] For this and other details I am indebted to the interesting Report for 1898, issued by the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, Succentor.

grandfathers would never have dreamed of the great orchestral rendering of Bach's Passion Music in Holy Week and Mendelssohn's "St. Paul" at the Patronal Festival, and Spohr's "Last Judgment" in Advent. Equally would the list of musical works now used throughout the year, which is annually augmented by fresh additions from the compositions of the best composers, foreign and English, surpass all their experience. In this list it will be found that the names of early English writers of Church music—Purcell, Tallis, Boyce, Green, Blow, Croft—retain their due place; that Mozart, Bach, Handel, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Gounod, Spohr, Dvořák, contribute their best works in company with Sterndale Bennett, Ouseley, Wesley, Barnby, Goss, Hopkins, Tours, and Stainer.

In connection with the many developments

in the practical purposes to which the great cathedral was put may be mentioned not only the re-arrangement of the organ and screen, but the throwing open of the dome and nave for great congregations, the constant use of one chapel for the daily Eucharist, and of another for special services; the establishment of lectures in the Chapter House, and mid-day services for busy people; for the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday, and all these manifold adaptations of old things to modern needs, and new importations of fresh methods, which are now taken for granted as part of the work of every great cathedral throughout England.

It would be impossible adequately to give any statement of all the special services held for great societies and on other occasions. There are great choral services for Gregorian and Anglican associations;

festivals for the great missionary societies, the G.F.S., the C.E.T.S., Medical Guilds, Lay Helpers, Sunday School Institutes, Army Guilds. The Deaf and Dumb have their special celebration of the Holy Communion, and the Bands of Hope their anniversary; the Freemasons are not left out, the Post Office workers have their quiet day; and the Welshmen have their Service on St. David's Day, or near it. There are retreats and quiet days for clergy and laymen, and the Church Training Colleges are gathered to a great service; and even in the heart of London, far away from green fields and the sight of reapers among the corn, under the smoke-laden atmosphere that begrimes the great cathedral, the "Harvest Home" is not forgotten.

Preachers from all parts of England, the United States, and the Colonies occupy the pulpit on Sunday evenings; and many a

man who has been invited to do so, has been proud and glad to accept the summons without being too much alarmed at the risk of meeting the experience so quaintly indicated by one who was not likely to have undergone it himself, the late Canon H. W. Burrows, who said to some one perhaps a little too elated at the prospect, "Well, the Dean's verger will show you the way to the pulpit, and, as you go, you will see the greater part of the congregation leaving the cathedral." [1]

THE POSITION OF THE GREAT CATHEDRAL IN THE CHURCH.

And so St. Paul's became, and is still becoming more and more, first to London and its diocese, and then to the whole country, the Colonies, and the United States, a great rallying-place of Churchmen; a true Mother Church embracing and welcoming all the sons and daughters

[1] "Life of H. W. Burrows," p. 178.

of the Anglican Communion, bidding them enter her doors and take their places for prayer and praise, private and public, choral office, Eucharist and intercession, without being hindered and hampered and worried by harassing restrictions and troublesome regulations.

What the Dean's share was in all this let one who knew well relate: "It is impossible to single out points in which the Dean's initiative can be directly detected. Indeed, a marked initiative would not be in his manner. He would not formulate proposals nor frame a policy. That would be wholly unlike him. Rather within the Chapter, as without, in his relations to the Church at large, he stood as a judicial conscience, up to the standard of which all must be brought. If it was a matter of liturgical or devotional rule, Liddon would be set to frame a scheme; if it was a bit of financial or

administrative business, Gregory would make his proposal. But, always, there was a judgment to face, which would be anticipated by each as they worked at this task. Every plan must be such as would satisfy the sensitive and delicate estimate of right or wrong, which was so pre-eminently characteristic of the Dean."[1]

The story is told that when asked once what was the secret of the great success at St. Paul's, the Dean said, after a minute's pause, "We try to be punctual." How much did that mean in so busy a centre as the heart of London! What an admirable principle for the guidance of all who are responsible for the arrangement of Church services!

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 220.

VI

Finance—The Dean as an adviser—Ritualism—Faith in the Church—The Court of Appeal—The Dean's sermons—"Gifts of Civilization"—His breadth of view—Bible criticism—Essays—Style.

BESIDES the great improvement in the services, which attracted immense numbers, and inspired and helped multitudes in London and strangers from all parts of the world, much had to be done in placing the finances of the cathedral on a satisfactory basis. Canon Gregory had already impressed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners with the necessity of large and liberal revenues, and during the first years of Church's office the new scheme was started. The whole staff of officials and each department of the cathedral underwent

FINANCE.

a thorough reformation. Then, again, the internal decoration of the building with all its many difficulties, not even at the present day finally solved, demanded much care and attention. All these things were harmoniously thought out and acted upon by the Chapter, and the Dean's approval or the reverse was the most important element in maturing any plan or fixing any decision. This great talent of judgment was by no means confined to the work of the Chapter. It was looked up to by a great number of persons, who more and more began to realize what a power for wise decision resided in a personality so apparently shy and timid. "What does the Dean say?" was a question often asked in those days, whether the difficulty of the moment was concerned with a crisis in politics, or a controversy concerning doctrine or ritual, or on the character of a man or

THE DEAN AS AN ADVISER.

the tendency of a book. Great men consulted him, notably Mr. Gladstone, who, it is said, would have been well content to see him occupying St. Augustine's throne.

He had a dislike to putting his name to declarations on doctrine, and so declined an invitation of Dr. Pusey's to sign one on the subject of Confession and Absolution. He had no personal liking for elaborate ceremonial. He said once, "What we want is to frighten Ritualists out of self-will and extravagance, and the people in power from worrying the Ritualists." [1] But, as early as 1856, he wrote about the Knightsbridge Ritual Case, "It is this determination in courts of justice to find a meaning and a direction where there is none, and to close questions which at least are open ones, that is enough to drive fair and quiet men into savage thoughts and

RITUALISM.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 260.

feelings."[1] In 1874, after the introduction of the Public Worship Regulation Act, he expressed his intention of signing the declaration in favour of the Eastward Position and a distinctive Eucharistic dress, though, as regards the vestments, he says, "For myself, I should feel very uncomfortable if I had to wear them." After the Act was passed, he expressed his opinion very strongly against any narrowing of "the principle of an intelligent appropriate expressive outward form or shape of worship within the lines of the Prayer-book fairly interpreted." Sometimes he was asked to write letters explaining important points of doctrine, and there are two letters of his on original sin, which are so important as to find a place in Prebendary Gibson's Commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles. The painful affairs of the imprisonment of Mr.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 158.

Tooth and the Folkestone Ritual Case affected him gravely. Such things appeared to him as tending through a policy of coercion towards disestablishment. Of this he said, "that it may be averted by any sacrifice except of justice and honour, I pray day and night."[1] And yet all these grievous troubles never damped his enthusiasm or destroyed his sanguine hopes for the future of the English Church.

FAITH IN THE CHURCH.

He could speak thus to Dr. Benson, first Bishop of Truro, after his consecration: "I hope you may be permitted to add in Cornwall another to the many victories which the revived English Church has achieved, and which, in spite of disasters and many troubles, make it the most glorious Church in Christendom."[2] And again he wrote in the same strain to the Warden of Keble: "There is no more

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 256. [2] Ibid., p. 257.

glorious Church in Christendom than this inconsistent English Church, nor one that has shown such wonderful proof of Christian life." [1]

Sometimes the difficulties of the time made him think that the resignation of his office might show the world that he had no thought of inconsistency and weak compliance with unjust decisions. But, on the other hand, he did not wish to do anything to shake confidence in the English Church, and so he remained at his post. Later on, other ritual cases and imprisonments caused him to pay attention once more to the great needs of the Church, especially in the region of courts of appeal. He was inclined to leave the Privy Council, as a purely secular court, to decide Church causes in temporalities, and to have a spiritual court of appeal of Bishops to deal

THE COURT OF APPEAL.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 258.

with doctrine and discipline. One thing he made quite clear, and he wrote to the *Times* to that effect, that neither he nor any true Churchman could assent to "the proposition that an Established Church is what Parliament makes it or allows it to be, and nothing more," and it was a great relief to him when, in 1881, he found the Primate, Dr. Tait, attending to certain reasonable communications from himself and Mr. Carter of Clewer.

HIS SERMONS.

More than once Church was appointed Select Preacher at Oxford, and the volume entitled "Cathedral and University Sermons" can only now be named with the simple statement that they are serious, sympathetic, and practical, full of tender appeals based upon solid dogma. As a preacher there was nothing outwardly to attract in "the short stature, small spare figure," and the not very powerful

utterance. But "the upward look, the quiet reading of the text, and the discourse that followed, subdued the congregation into breathless attention by the wonderful spiritual power of the man."[1]

Among his sermons should be noted those on Pascal, Bishop Butler, Bishop Andrewes, and in the same volume a very characteristic one on foreign travel preached in St. James's, Piccadilly, as part of the course on "The Use and Abuse of the World." He proposed the two questions, "What ought foreign travel to do for us?" "What ought we to do, that its opportunities may not be thrown away?" In answer to the first question, he said, "Change of scene, of object, is a remedy to the sick mind and body." Refreshment, education, enlargement of ideas, and above all, new thoughts of the greatness of God, His purposes, His

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 304.

thoughts, come to us, by such change. Secondly, he dwelt on the dangers of foreign travel, frivolity, carelessness: "Lazy, unintelligent travelling is like lazy reading;" and, again, he called attention to the risk of forming hasty judgments on foreign nations, their habits, and, above all, their religion; and finally, the peril of throwing off accustomed restraints, and neglecting religious habits while abroad. "No place more befitting the seriousness of self-judgment and penitence than when we are alone in the solitude of the sea or the desert; no place where the mingled greatness and littleness of man, and the love and righteousness of God, prompt more naturally the great strains of the *Te Deum*, than in concert with the roar of mighty torrents, or when morning breaks over the silence of the everlasting hills."

Perhaps no other literary production of

Dean Church gives so good an idea, not only of the richness of his historic knowledge, and the acuteness of his critical insight, but the breadth of his intellectual and spiritual view of things, as the remarkable sermons preached at Oxford, in the years 1866–68, on "The Gifts of Civilization." As a sequel to these, and published in the same volume, five lectures were delivered at St. Paul's in the years 1872 and 1873, on "Civilization before and after Christianity," and "Some Influences of Christianity on National Character." A mere brief notice of this, perhaps the most important work that he has left behind, must suffice. He recognized civilization as a Divine gift as real as the "sun and air and rain" in its power of doing good. "Civilization and religion have each their own order, and move in their own path." The latter may influence more or less the

GIFTS OF CIVILIZATION.

former, but they are not identical. Civilization brings liberty and peace, and strength of social countenance to what is right. Christianity has been brought in, not to make us despise or even dread the gifts of civilization, but to help us to look for something more beyond, while we understand and value and use the great endowments of this present life. "We are sinners who have been saved by a God Who loved us; there is a religion which is our hope beyond this time, and the incommunicable character of it is love." He drew a powerful contrast between the religion of the Sermon on the Mount and Christianity as it now is in society. But he did not draw the inference from this contrast that "the history of Christian society was a history of a great evasion." While allowing for failures and shortcomings from the high standard of primitive days, he showed that the mission of the Church was

not to remain outside of and apart from society, but to absorb it and act on it in endless ways. The gracious presence of Christ has been felt where it could least be expected. "Even war and riches, even the Babel life of our great cities, even the high places of ambition and earthly honour, have been touched by His Spirit—have found how to be Christian. Shadows as they are, compared with the ages that are before us, and tainted with evil, we believe that they have felt the hand of the great Healer, to Whom power is given over all flesh; all power in Heaven and on earth."[1]

The great power in the Christian Church to enable it thus to affect society around it, is "character," and the example of what character is, is to be found in our Lord: "He does what is most human, but He lives absolutely in the Divine." His life

[1] "Gifts of Civilization," p. 84.

is the pattern of faith and truth and love. The Church has constantly been striving after this standard; "an age of intellectual confusion" saw, in the Christ of the Gospels, the ideal of the great teacher and prophet and healer of human error. The monastic spirit saw in it a vocation to a life of poverty as the condition of perfection. The Reformation saw in Him the breaker-up of formalism and the quickener of the dead letter. In modern times men dwell most upon His perfect manhood, so great and true and just. None of these give more than a partial side of this ideal and perfect character. Every age looks forward to its children becoming greater and better still, through their apprehension of this example. And so he called upon his hearers, while guarding against that wrong view of civilization which thinks that society has outgrown Christianity and can dispense with it, to realize how noble

a thing civilization is; the more it extends and develops, the more demand there is for the Church to exercise her influence and to consecrate society in all its "intellectual, moral, and civil perfection." Civilization may appear at times to be advancing in lines hostile to the Church, and threatening the foundations of the Christian faith, but this apparent danger ought not to cause despondency. One thing is needful—that every separate member of the Church has to realize his or her office in supplying the salt and the light and the leaven: "There are reasons for looking forward to the future with solemn awe. No doubt signs are about us which mean something which we dare scarcely breathe. The centre of gravity, so to speak, of religious questions has become altogether shifted and displaced. Anchors are lifting everywhere, and men are committing themselves to what they

may meet with on the sea. But awe is neither despair nor fear; and Christians have had bad days before. *Passi graviora.* A faith which has come out alive from the darkness of the tenth century, the immeasurable corruption of the fifteenth, the religious policy of the sixteenth, and the philosophy, commenting on the morals, of the eighteenth, may face without shrinking even the subtler perils of our own. Only let us bear in mind that it is not an abstraction, a system, or an idea which has to face them; it is we who believe. The influence of the Church on society means, in its ultimate shape, the influence of those who compose it. The Christian Church is to be the salt of the nation if Christians are true to their belief and equal to their claim; nothing can make it so, nothing can secure that what has been, shall be, if they are not." [1]

[1] "Gifts of Civilization," pp. 118, 119.

No one can read these remarkable sermons and the essays which accompany them, without becoming convinced that Church was quite emancipated from any narrow ecclesiasticism; that he had no dread of scientific inquiry, no distrust of human society as a whole; that he had a calm belief in the overruling providence of God in nature, in mankind, as well as in the Holy Catholic Church. It was by no means the case that he did not distinguish between the great supernatural powers of the Kingdom of God, and the progress and development of human society, but he looked forward with a kind of sanguine optimism to the transformation and consecration of the latter, by the gradual extension of the Divine graces of the former. In the opinion of the wisest of his contemporaries, the Churchmanship of the Dean of St. Paul's was not

HIS BREADTH OF VIEW.

only wider but truer than that of Newman. It certainly was more human and sympathetic.

BIBLE CRITICISM.

He never attempted to deal definitely with the teaching of the advancing school of Biblical criticism. But he certainly was not unmindful of the seriousness of the question. He more than once declared that England and the English Church were singularly unprepared for meeting the new theories; but he was always calm in his own mind on the subject, and recommended calmness in others. He drew "a contrast between the certainties of physical science, and the contradictory and uncertain results, the barrenness as a whole, of criticism." He advised courage and honesty, but also patience, which is essential to a real love of truth. It was not dishonest to feel that there are some questions which had better be left

alone, some which will never be answered on this side of the grave, and perhaps not on the other. It was part of his large-hearted, broad-minded character that, while belonging to an older generation, he still did not hold himself aloof from those who had advanced on to new and perhaps perilous grounds, and probably by his sympathy and wisdom he was able to guard and correct some exaggerations and impetuosities.

Many of his works can only be briefly mentioned. Essays on "Bacon" and "Spenser;" a charming account of Brittany, based upon reminiscences of a tour he made there; "The Rise of the Early Ottomans,"—are specimens of widely differing subjects that illustrate the versatility of his literary powers. His style has been often spoken of as possessing the scholarly finish of the best educated English

ESSAYS.

in all ages. He was once asked how style could be studied and formed. He said he did not recognize in himself any special training for style. "The great thing in writing is to know and feel what you want to say, and to say it in words that come as near to your meaning as you can get them to come." He quoted the saying, "Always cut out a passage which you are most proud of." He attributed great value to careful reading of good English in the best writers. And it is very characteristic and touching to note that he said, "Besides these, I heard and read a good deal of Mr. Newman's preaching, and it is, I am sure, to him that I owe it that I can write at all simply, and with the wish to be real."[1]

STYLE.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 326.

VII

The Dean's character — Personality — Friends — Bereavements — "The Oxford Movement"—Last days—Death and funeral—His humility—General estimate—His loyalty to "the Kingdom of God."

It was not only in his writing that he possessed so great a charm, but in his conversation at home and in society. He had a very keen and delicate sense of humour, and yet maintained perfect dignity without the loss of simplicity and ease. "Austerity and sympathy" have been described as two great notes in his character, and he was able, as Canon Scott Holland has said, to be in favour with all men, and yet never to swerve from the line of duty, and never to submit to the taint of compromise.

HIS CHARACTER.

Of his kindness and courtesy many stories

are told, and one is particularly characteristic of the man. One Good Friday, on leaving the cathedral, he saw a party of Italian emigrants standing on the western steps. They had been unable to visit the whole of the cathedral on account of the Good Friday services. The Dean spoke to them in their own tongue, and found that one of them came from a valley well known to him. They were all delighted by his kindness, and were enabled the next day to see the whole of the cathedral from crypt to dome, accompanied by a member of the choir who spoke Italian.

Though not gifted with great vocal powers for preaching, his reading was always a treat to those who heard him, whether it was one of Scott's novels, or a poem of Tennyson, in his drawing-room at Whatley in the evening, or his clear and impressive reading of the Lessons in St.

PERSONALITY.

Paul's, at the great special services, when his perfect pronunciation and intonation made him easily heard.

He was an untiring and industrious student, and never dropped any of his early studies. Homer and Virgil, Sophocles and Lucretius, were never put away on his shelves after Oxford days. But he was also an indefatigable correspondent, and wrote from abroad delightfully fresh accounts of the places he visited. His visit to Rome, in 1882, was late in life, and it is remarkable to note the effect of the great city upon his mind. His feeling was "one almost of hatred for the place—a mixture of all incompatible things, ruins and magnificence, waste and civilization, tumble-down squalidness and untidiness, and stateliness and grandeur such as one has never seen elsewhere, and an anti-religious world, and an ostentatiously religious world, really as

worldly, and also an undeniably magnificent organization of high religion quite unique."[1] Of Florence he wrote: "It is certainly most beautiful; I suppose the harmony of everything, the characteristic buildings, the river, the hills round about, and the unconscious association with all the wonderful works of art and beauty in it, gave it this, to me, unique character."[2] But foreign travel never diminished his keen appreciation of England and the English.

He maintained delightful friendships with all sorts of people. Dr. Asa Gray, whose scientific knowledge was for many years a source of refreshment and interest; Dean Stanley, with whom he differed greatly, but whom he valued and admired, and whose death, in 1881, caused him a great shock; Lord Blachford; the Warden of Keble (Dr. Talbot), and many

FRIENDS.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 295. [2] Ibid., p. 299.

others, were among his correspondents. The later years of his life were greatly overshadowed by losses of friends— Dr. Asa Gray, Lord Blachford, Cardinal Newman. His friendship with the latter, which had been broken off when the sad secession of 1845 took place, was renewed once more in 1866, and continued to the end. They met occasionally, and corresponded from time to time, the Dean going as a guest to Edgbaston, and the Cardinal visiting the Deanery. Very soon after Newman's death came the sudden blow of the loss of Dr. Liddon, and this seemed to be the final stroke in breaking down the Dean's own strength. At the funeral of Dr. Liddon his voice was heard for the last time in the great cathedral when he committed the body of his valued friend to the grave. But that which had crushed him most was the loss of his only son, a bright

BEREAVEMENTS.

and scholarly young man, full of all the classical and cultured tastes of his father, and who had already shown not a little literary skill, likely hereafter to have developed into something remarkable. He passed away peacefully at Hyères, in January, 1888.

One of the latest of his works is that which will perhaps hand down his memory as much as any other, and that is the "History of the Oxford Movement." It is, of course, but a fragment, for it deals only with twelve years, from 1833–45. But he told the story that he knew best, and left it for others to complete; indeed, as he said, he scarcely had the heart to write more of it himself. But the book describes most graphically, and in perfect good taste and charity, the striking figures, the ebb and flow of controversy, the successes and failures

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

of perhaps the most remarkable epoch in the whole of the modern history of the Church. His own final estimate of the outcome of the Movement is perhaps best described in the following passage: "It was the resolute and serious appeal from brilliant logic, and keen sarcasm, and pathetic, impressive eloquence, to reality and experience, as well to history, as to the positive and substantial characteristics of the traditional and actually existing English Church, shown not on paper, but in work, and in spite of contradictory appearances and inconsistent elements; and along with this, an attempt to put in a fair and just light the comparative excellences and defects of other parts of Christendom—excellences to be ungrudgingly admitted, but not to be allowed to bar the recognition of defects." [1]

The death of his son caused him to live

[1] "The Oxford Movement," p. 401.

greatly in retirement, and it was only occasionally that he was drawn out into public view. One occasion was a Conference of representatives of the High Church and Low Church parties, with special reference to the prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln, and almost the last event of importance that occurred in those last days was the delivery of Archbishop Benson's judgment on the case. Of the decision he said, "It is the most courageous thing that has come from Lambeth for the last two hundred years."[1]

LAST DAYS.

On December 9, 1890, he passed away quietly. By his own wish, his body was laid to rest in Whatley Churchyard, close to the south side of the chancel wall. But, previously, funeral services took place in St. Paul's Cathedral, with celebration of the Holy Communion

DEATH AND FUNERAL.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. 349.

early, and full musical rendering of the Burial Service at noon. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were present, and large numbers of friends and representatives of the clergy and laity. It was a happy thought that Newman's hymn, "Praise to the Holiest in the height," was sung at the close of the service. He was very anxious that no memorial either at St. Paul's or at Whatley should be erected to his memory. His son-in-law, Dean Paget, has brought out the secret of this and so many other acts of self-effacement in his life in the restraining influence of "a constant recollection of something that was awful and even dreadful to him . . . ; he seemed to bear about with him a certain hidden, isolating, constraining and ennobling fear."[1] He dreaded unreal exaggeration of men's merits, and

HIS HUMILITY.

[1] "Life and Letters," p. xxii.

shrank from anything approaching to undue praise of himself. The following very remarkable words, which he wrote to Dean Paget not long before his death, reveal his thoughts on the subject: "I often have a kind of waking dream; up one road the image of a man decked and adorned as if for a triumph, carried up by rejoicing and exulting friends, who praise his goodness and achievements; and on the other road, turned back to back to it, there is the very man himself, in sordid and squalid apparel, surrounded not by friends, but by ministers of justice, and going on, while his friends are exulting, to his certain and perhaps awful judgment. That vision rises when I hear, not just and conscientious endeavours to make out a man's character, but when I hear the loose things that are said—often in kindness and love—of those beyond the grave."[1]

[1] "Life and Letters," p. xxiv.

It is quite in accordance with the feelings expressed in these words, that he desired that his grave at Whatley should be marked only with a stone similar to the one placed over that of his son at Hyères, and that the same inscription should be engraved upon it—the sombre, penitent, and loving prayer from the *Dies Iræ*—

"Rex tremendæ majestatis
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

"Quærens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus,
Tantus labor non sit cassus."

Such a life as that of Dean Church is a great encouragement and consolation to loyal sons of the Church of England. It serves to assure them that, in spite of apparent failures and shortcomings, in the midst of great entanglements from her connection with the State,

though scarcely ever free from harassing controversy and strife of tongues, though many who claim membership in her ranks seem strangely to have failed in absorbing her true Catholic spirit, she has not yet lost the power of training great and noble children. She has not altogether failed to retain the allegiance of men of learning, culture, taste, and, above all, of Christian character in its noblest form. Dean Church commended the Church of England to men of intellect by his extraordinary thoroughness and depth of reading; he adorned the doctrine of Jesus Christ, of His Holy Church, by a beautiful life; he expounded the Catholic faith in writings of unrivalled purity of style; he could make the simple truths of Christianity intelligible to the peasants of Somerset, and the mysteries of the Kingdom of God more and more acceptable to the intellectual apprehension of the

University students of Oxford, and the busy men of the world in London. The stamp of his influence will remain for many a year on the capitular life and cathedral services of St. Paul's Cathedral; and the fearless courage of the Junior Proctor of 1845 will long be remembered as an inspiration for all who love justice and true liberty of thought, and are willing to face unpopularity rather than betray the truth.

HIS LOYALTY TO "THE KINGDOM OF GOD."

Having once learned from Newman and others at Oxford what is implied in the "Kingdom of God," he never faltered in a life-long witness in its behalf. Of this Kingdom he has said: "It is high spiritual interests that we have to guard, the highest that we can conceive among us—the faith, the spirit, the gifts, the life of what we believe to be Christ's Holy Catholic Church. This high idea of what we mean by the

Church is not only the true one, not only the one really worthy the enthusiasm of Churchmen, but it is the safest and most powerful appeal to the thoughts of reasonable men. It was this that, in days of danger fifty years ago—the revival of the great idea of the Church, the extrication of it, in its religious and spiritual significance, from the earthly associations which had encumbered and obscured it—it was this which, in spite of great difficulties, great troubles, great disasters, staved off the dangers, and infused new life and elevation and strength into all our religion."[1]

And then taking up the words of our Lord, "My Kingdom is not of this world," he spoke of the warnings they convey as to the temper and method of the Church's warfare. "And above all," he said, "they warn us against a temptation which has

[1] "Advent Sermons," p. 82.

before now come in the path of the Church, and may again—the temptation of paying too high a price to gain or to retain the advantages of this world. There are few among us with knowledge so large and thought so comprehensive as to be able to take in the full measure of the blessing of a Church like ours, which can speak to the nation as nothing else can, which holds such a machinery for good in its hands. But we may be asked to pay too highly for keeping what we so value. We may be asked to give up in exchange what we have no right to part with; to barter things that concern the life of the Church as a religious body; to turn the Church which we have received into something different; to consent to precipitate experiments and ill-considered compromises; to rush, under the alarm and perhaps danger of the

moment, into projects of hasty change, in the hope of stopping a cry. Let us do our best; let us try to leave things better than we found them in the Church and in the world; let us 'quit us like men'—men of sense, men of courage, if we are forced into a struggle which must be a trying and a stern one; but let us remember, amid all its fortunes, Who has said, 'My Kingdom is not of this world.'" [1]

[1] "Advent Sermons," p. 86.

INDEX

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